1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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his left cheek until the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of his own urine, and spits out the mixture.

The following instance of this belief was recorded.

A Bella Coola chief and a number of followers were once at Kwatna where they had been gambling for stakes of mountain goat grease. Two of the men had lost their supply, so they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish it. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place; these they also slew. When a fifth and sixth goat appeared and were likewise dispatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural power which they should not abuse. They stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on the return journey. Presently the mountain began to tilt upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided, so that the men escaped.

The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of all kinds may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. Supernatural beings abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. An alert and bold man can take advantage of these opportunities and obtain assistance, but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most commonly granted to orphans and other unfortunates; accounts of these belong to the realm of mythology and will be described in a later chapter. On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination in conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes.

Supernatural Elements in Human Beings

The Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there are certain supernatural elements. Neither sticks nor stones can move, because they lack these attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ascribe the phenomena of health and sickness,

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *hesiut* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has purged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the loosing of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Alqunkin* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the more force expenditured in a man's body by lengthy absti-

[illegible] B-5 (1911-1924)1941
BBS Bella Coola MSS

given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest.[1] Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price. If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had to leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a *Kwakiutl* Indian, from near Owiss Lake, borrowed goods from a Kimsquit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kimsquit.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom by gambling. *At Ishaf* especially, a player who had exhausted his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken on those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" to be lent as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"No slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. They were frequently ransomed by their

[1] This is said to be an ancient practice, due to the fact that several of the forefathers of the Bella Coola came to earth in their canoe and were on friendly terms with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that this tradition may have reference to the founding story of the Bella Coola from the main Salish stock.

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presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *xoxod*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk names given

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Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to record the myth to which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kwaqutl recipient for his name *Xa-xalaida* which came to earth with *Sisaoas* (I, p. 332) in the beginning of time. Another Kwaqutl *a'alk*, *Tlelqulam*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sisaoas* (I, p. 340), who assumed the designation of *Tlelqulam* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *K'wa'nalas*.

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The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once, long, long ago, *Algunlas* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sxoaxa-a*, and a mermaid, so he

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Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

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CHAPTER 5

STORIES ILLUSTRATING THE SUPERNATURAL

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Aid Granted in the Unfortunate —Stories Illustrating Supernatural Good Luck—Stories Illustrating Shamanism

KNOWLEDGE of the contact between supernatural and human beings is based largely upon tales describing such incidents; in fact, generalizations like those made in the last chapter are, as has been already stated, contrary to Bella Coola practice. Such tales are, however, so numerous and so long that their inclusion in the sections describing the kind of experiences they illustrate would have made the last chapter unduly cumbersome and confusing. Stories recounting these types of contact with the supernatural are brought together here, not as items of folk-lore, but as basic material to supplement the relevant sections of the last chapter. These legends are not family property, but are considered to be historical incidents which can be related by anyone.

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Aid Granted in the Unfortunate

The Swallow's Feather

Four brothers, of whom the youngest was named *Qaxalis-ca*, were very fond of gambling with cottonpith sticks. They played on all occasions, but with such luck of course that they lost their goods, their houses, their mothers, their children, their wives, and finally themselves. The three older men were hunting every day, but *Qaxalis-ca* remained at home alone as a rule when he played with cottonpith sticks. Perhaps he had an inspiration, or very rare he was deserting his brothers, because as soon as they had gone out he used to get up and collect those sticks which were plentiful below the floor of the house. These were his sole possessions, but he also showed the fat of an old salmon, which served to exercise his power. Before his brothers' return *Qaxalis-ca* always lay down in his corner, covered with an old dirty blanket, as if he

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[illegible] were about idle. During the day he spent much of his time aimlessly making arrows, wooden darts and circles of pliant wood, such as are used in a game, and idly tossing these around. One day when he was so engaged he heard someone come to the door, and looking up he saw a stranger there.

"I [illegible] coming to *Djendjo ca*," said the stranger.

"Come in," replied *Djendjo ca*.

The stranger was a supernatural being, though whether *Djendjo ca* was or was aware of this is doubtful.

"What do you bet?" asked the stranger, assuming that they would play with the darts and hoops which *Djendjo ca* held in his hands.

"Alas, I have nothing," said the miserable man, though all his gambling instincts were aroused. "All I own in the world is a dried salmon for which I use to chew on; I can barely keep alive with that and clams."

"Come on," said the supernatural stranger; "I will wager this pair of decorated moccasins against your salmon tail."

They gambled and *Djendjo ca* won.

The loser smiled over the moccasins, saying, "Go down to the beach and put [illegible] of these shoes into the ocean."

There he disappeared.

Djendjo ca placed the toes in the water, and instantly the sea was filled with small spring-like fish called *hoolo-e*. *Djendjo ca* caught and devoured as many of these as he wanted, but he did not chew himself, nor did he tell his brothers of his good fortune on their return.

Then the supernatural stranger again appeared, offering to wager another pair of shoes against one of the hoops which *Djendjo ca* had made. Once more he lost victorious, receiving a pair of moccasins which, when dipped in the sea, brought countless spring salmon. The following day he won a pair which attracted the sockeye salmon, and on successive days won the varying other species of salmon, until he was able to attract every kind. Finally, during his brothers' absence one day, *Djendjo ca*, throwing off his disguise of lethargy, filled the house with all kinds of salmon. Great was the surprise of the hunters on their return; they asked him if he had become endowed with supernatural power, and he replied that he had. In exchange for being taught to gamble with crab-apple sticks, the supernatural one had at channed *Djendjo ca*'s eyes that he could see where the king-sticks[2] were concealed, hence he would be able to win on all occasions.

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[1] The term used for a guessing party, is also applied to a contest in any game of skill, especially one in which teams or individuals from different villages take part.

[2] This is a marked stick and the players guess in whose hand it is concealed.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have sufficient goods to validate *kusiut* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kusiut* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, since none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

X, though now a member of the *kusiut* society, is still a novice and cannot give a dance[a] until the next ceremonial season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he is a Cannibal, Scratch, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[b] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened. Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,

[a] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogatives immediately, although he must also perform a complete dance the following year.

[b] This prohibition was more broken at Bonger is. A skilled healer was required to arrange the taste as a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a nephew of Anuit, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but grave fears were taken to hide his identity and it was years before the ceremonies became known.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

prohibitions that last not for one year, but for four. X is not subject to any other restraints. If he wishes to go hunting he can remove his cedar-bark collar and hang it for convenience in the forest near his village, redonning it on his return. The *kukuxtat* show considerable interest in their new member, not only by warning him what he must not do, but by teaching him how to dance and to growl or make other of the necessary, but unusual, noises. During the remainder of the ceremonial season X is required to attend every *kuxtat* dance, thereby learning much of the ceremonial, and during the following summer his relatives, especially if food is plentiful, frequently invite the *kukuxtat* to their house. The singers beat out well-known tunes, or practise those which will be required for the following winter; if a song has been composed for X he dances in time to it, in the style proper to his prerogative. Formerly, when there were many novices, dances of this type took place frequently and were useful in giving constant practice to singers and neophytes alike. As no calls from supernatural patrons can come at this time of year, it follows that all such dances are of a non-sacred nature, although the uninitiated are excluded. During his period as a novitiate, X has one privilege; he can take food from anyone at any type of ceremony. It is remembered that one novice was even bold enough to take food which had been placed as an offering for the dead.

When the next *kuxtat* season opens, X attends every performance. This is probably the most thrilling and nerve-racking period in his life. He does not know exactly when he will be allowed to give his dance, since that is a matter of arrangement between his relatives and the marshals, but he knows that the time will soon be at hand. When the great day, or rather night, actually comes, X is usually in a state of abject terror. The rite itself does not differ from those about to be described except that the first song relates the manner in which X found the repository. But the mental attitude of X differs greatly from that of an old performer. One informant,

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2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Song Sung to a Bat(s)

$533 When a bat is seen flitting around in the dusk, lads often
825 greet it as follows:

[illegible]	[illegible]
Bat,	[illegible]

These two words are repeated an indefinite number of times.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 16b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

MISCELLANEOUS SONGS

$539 Gambling games have always been popular among the
● 325 Bella Coola, especially the one known as *lehal* which may be
177 of European origin. Contestants sing as they play, but the songs, lacking words, consist merely of a series of meaningless ejaculations. The tunes, however, are remembered, and certain ones are considered to be the proper accompaniment to certain games. When a number of men are singing in unison, they follow the directions of a leader, but at other times the "words" vary according to individual taste. The tunes alone are important, and it is often remembered from what area they first came.[1]

$538 A few songs have been adopted from the Carriers and are
177 sung from sheer delight in the rhythm, since the words are unintelligible. The most popular is the following:

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[1] A number of such tunes were obtained:
A *Klimaxis lehal* song, recorded as song VII D 20c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
A gambling song said to have come from the West Coast of Vancouver Island, recorded as song VII D 19b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D 14b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D 20b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D 12b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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but the Bella Coola do not consider this aspect and the children grow up in an atmosphere entirely lacking in restraint of speech. Some stories teach a moral lesson, but they are recounted merely for entertainment. At the present time, no one knows who invented the stories; they have been handed down from dim antiquity and alterations or embellishments are considered improper, while the composition of new tales appears to be unknown.

Another pastime is smoking. Among some Indian tribes the practice has a definite religious significance, but this appears to be lacking among the Bella Coola. Most of the men enjoy either a pipe or cigarettes, and some of the women also indulge, but few carry the habit to excess. All the older people affirmed that their ancestors had smoked for generations. Tobacco was not grown, but kinnikinick, *mile'*, was used, and also a plant known as *ilaxle'*. Another smoking mixture was bark of *hewaxaly*, toasted before a fire until dried and brown, and then crumbled between the hands. These materials have given place entirely to imported tobacco, and the white man's pipe has replaced the native one. The latter consisted of a gooseberry cane from which the pith had been extracted; sometimes a small bowl of elderberry wood was added, but often the mixture to be smoked was simply placed within the end of the hollow stem.

Adults, especially the men, are addicted to gambling. They are fond of placing stakes on a race or other trial of strength, and enjoy all kinds of games of chance. Some of the younger men have mastered a few of the simpler games of cards on which they spend a certain amount of time and money. The *favourite gambling game, however, is one found in all parts* of the coast, which is played with a pack of fifty-four smoothed crabapple sticks. The rules are complicated and no effort was made to learn *more* than the general principles. The pieces are divided among the eight or ten contestants and concealed; then one player guesses in whose hand a certain marked stick is hidden. If he is successful, the others pay him a forfeit; if

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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525 he is wrong, he pays them. It is said that in former times each stick used to be painted with a special device, and that each had its own name; even now they are beautifully made and highly polished by much passing from hand to hand. The Carriers [171] play the same game but use beaver teeth instead of sticks. Formerly it was not uncommon for a man to bet his goods, his wives and children, and even himself at this game. If he lost, [527] the persons so wagered became slaves of the victor unless [575] redeemed by their friends. Women, too, gambled freely; in fact, neophytes recently admitted into the *kusiut* society were the only ones to whom this practice was forbidden.

526 Of actual games, the one most commonly played is *skla*. As many as eight or ten contestants can take part, each providing himself with one, two, or three stones,[1] pecked down to the proper shape. Each is about six inches in length, three inches wide, flat on one side, and oval on the other, well rounded at either end. Before the coming of the white man, when the Bella Coola habitually used stone, it is said that one of these could be made in a few minutes. A mark is set up, and the first player throws his missile in the air, endeavouring to make it come to rest as close as possible to the target. The game is usually played on an open space near the village, but even on comparatively smooth ground there is great chance of bouncing and the thrower must judge this possibility as well as have correct direction and distance. The second player likewise throws his stone, trying to land it nearer the target, or to knock away his rival's. In so doing, the latter, lying on the ground at either [illegible], often puts its owner out of the game for the time being. When all have thrown, the one who has come nearest the mark is the winner. Sometimes each contestant throws two or more stones, and sometimes sides are chosen. Large numbers of broken gaming stones can be found [172] near every old village site, confirming the statements of the older men and women concerning the universality of the sport

[1] Likewise called *skla*, a name said either to be derived from that of a fungus, or that the latter is derived from it.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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in former times. *Skíla* might almost be called the Bella Coola national game, although it is now (1923) seldom played.

A game with somewhat similar rules is *ɬqwlaiát*, played with small wooden spears tipped with bone. When a number of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he bets against the corresponding member of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spear, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the latter's number two tries to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds or till all have thrown. The game thus ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun.

The sport is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their chances of success and the expert was regarded with admiration by younger lads. The crack team of a village often used to visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and the games were contested amid frenzied excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting.

Another sport of a similar type is archery; a mark is set up and each competitor tries to lodge his arrow as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy.

Bella Coola children, too, have their games and recreations, many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy nothing

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become entangled in the loop when drawn back by the cord attached to the butt. A tug-of-war now takes place, those of each party who have caught the ring endeavouring to pull it to their side of the water. At last one or other is successful, and brings ashore the prize, with the dangling spears of their adversaries. Sometimes a lad with a fine weapon determines to retain possession of it at all costs and is dragged through the pool to the amusement of all.

526

TOURNAMENTS

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It is doubtful whether the subject of tournaments should be considered as belonging to mythology, warfare, or games, since it has aspects pertaining to each. Several of the older men affirmed that prior to the introduction of muskets, it was not uncommon for rival villages to stage fights according to definite rules, after full intimation of the attack had been given. This usually followed a period when angry comments had been made, but when the provocation was not sufficient for war. In such a case, the challenging town would notify its rival that on such a date an expedition consisting of, for example, twenty canoes would attack them with stones. Such an announcement could not be disregarded; the inhabitants of the two settlements prepared for action and wagered the large number of valuables essential to all such competitions.

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Many years ago, the Kimsquit people challenged the *otsiny* to a tournament of this kind. It was first necessary to choose the contestants. Twenty of the strongest men were selected, each to stand in the bow of a canoe and hold a moose-skin to shield the paddlers behind. To test their endurance, each took his place and the canoes were paddled towards the shore while all the other inhabitants, lined up on the beach, showered stones on them. On this first test, six of the twenty fell beneath the avalanche of projectiles and were accordingly considered too feeble. Their places were taken by six others who were tested the same way the following day, and the same procedure was repeated until the twenty strongest men in all Kimsquit had been found. A certain *Sisaquil* was chosen as

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atsaka: Promontory on hunting ground extending into ocean.
Oalsaxi: Kimsquit fisherman.
Owiki: Calvert Island.
Oxjaxem: Synonym for *Xwaxwaiaihi*, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

[415] *pai*: Small wooden dish.
Palaxit: Legless messenger of the dead.
Pa'x: Place on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
[518] [431] [412] *patsaxem*: Synonym for *nalpaxtlal'am*: Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "food" received from them on many occasions.
Patsiwaxs: Ancestral name of a *Nuxalk* man.
[412] *patsuka*: Bone needle.
pauala: Anything powerful and dreaded; the word is frequently applied, rhetorically, to Cannibals.
Pe'adz: Small stream rising north of the Bella Coola valley and east of the Nusket-seemaxy; it flows into the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Nusket-seemaxy and the Bella Coola.
Pigaiks: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
pilail: Herring spoon.
pistaxtu: Dance system.
[525] *Pnaplala*: One of the first men to settle on *Snaalal* in the beginning of time.
pkaa: Mosquito.
Pnaqaladzaqaqa: Name assumed by *Dzonoa* in the beginning of time.
pa-qimaxs: Variety of stump.
Pqalax: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
Pe'alds: Mountain River, the point between Labouchere Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[524] *pqaqal*: False hellebore.
[411] *pulaxa*: Bow, weapon.
[195] *Pqaxta*, "Fallen Directly with a Crash," an idiom a dead tree threatens to topple. The term is used rhetorically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief.
[372] *pxaxtal*: Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
[525] *pxkaxa*: Shooting of shields.
[525] *pxa*: Shaddock.
[524] *pxi*: Cranberry.
[524] *pxuxk*: Strawberry.

Q

● [525] *Qa'aiilx*: Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
qai: King stick in a gambling game.
qaiaxaqaiaiki: Women's dressing cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
qai'aqax: Uncommon term for the second day of a *Suckai* dance, applied to the rites taking place during the day itself only.
Qaiiya: Name conferred on the grandson of *Dzonoa* in the beginning of time.
Qal'lx: Man mentioned in a story.
Qalmx: 1—One of the first women to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

APPENDIX D

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nuw: Kwakiutl term for presents distributed as "Eagle down."
pem: Scoop-net for catching salmon in rivers.
pepeyahapis: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *hesiut* dancers.
qmanit: Spring water.
Q'umpis: Settlement in the Carrier country.
sne'i': Cow parsnip.
Xnalkus: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Heiltsa people in whose language it is said to mean *whale*.
Xnexnixukmaitis: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
Xnexnitsila: Daughter of a Kitlope chief living in the beginning of time.
xnikmalis: Wrestling.
Xnuljus-i, "The Creek": Name taken by one of the first settlers at *Nulimo* in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *hesiut* designation.
xnuxnupaus: 1—Hummingbird. [525]
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nulimo* in the beginning of time.
xnuxnusmut-sis: Puppet-person in the form of a hummingbird.
xnuyis-sis si-sias: The ventilating circuit of the *hesiut* system.
pasaya-i: Gambling game played with cottonpith sticks. [525]
Xnukulaus, "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *hesiut* member.
xnyaxmuk: The desertion of her husband by a wife. [576]

Y

Yahalis: Ancestral name of a *Haus* man.
Ya'k'umpaymas: Kitamaat man mentioned in an allegedly historical account. [574]
yaw: "Hello!" "Hail!" or "Greetings!"
ya-: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the roof.
Yaxlas: One of the first men to settle at *Nuliqumuk* in the beginning of time.
Yaxsiyi: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
yeaxmas: 1—Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which some *hekusiut* possess in addition to a dance.
2—Similar prerogatives formerly displayed in *xnuxnupaus* rites.
yees: 1—Call, dirge, or chant which impels a *hesiut* to dance.
2—*Kusiut* whistle.
Yi'mulalus: Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
yoalis: Term, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a memorial potlatch soon after the death of his relative.
yoaxmas: Presents given by a prospective bridegroom to the future father-in-law. [431 584 825]
yo-Gaxil, adjective.
yolo: Mountain goat.
Yu'mdzilis: Queen Island.
yuluk: "All Right," cry used in a *hesiut* dance.
Yulus'a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Yulyalaxalus: One of the first men to settle at *Nuliqumuk* in the beginning of time.
yulxalaxus: Bringing down of a rail by means of the cry of *xnuxnupaus*.
yulxalaxut: Presents given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they come for *hamat'sa* on the wedding day. [431 585]

8:Boas E-5 (1886--ca. 1890)1897
NE6 Bellacoola !E6

to him and takes him up to the sea, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which flies from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the shaman's dances, clothed in a hemlock and wearing a large head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark. Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the Hā'mats!a (p. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that of Dzoñkwēlanx!ā'wat of the Kwakiutl. These shamans do not bite people, but merely devour one finger or four fingers to five and devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The shaman has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he can not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

Fig. 200.

The o'lōx (the laughter) and the dā'ōx (the crower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, as both must fast three days before their first dance. The o'lōx "makes fun of everything" and annoys people with his antics. The dā'ōx carries clubs and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The o'lōx and dā'ōx, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

If a person transgresses the laws of the hā'mats!a, for instance, when the shaman's guardian, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person dislikes the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offenses have been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the substitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted to the shamans, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shamans is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around